

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 USIA-15

ACDA-19 IO-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 OIC-04

AEC-11 OMB-01 DRC-01 /163 W
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R 101940Z OCT 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2058

SECDEF WASHDC

S E C R E T USNATO 4839

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR WORKING GROUP: DRAFT WG REPORT ON SHAPE ASSESSMENT OF
OPTION III

REF: USNATO 4771

1. MISSION HAS RECEIVED ADVANCE COPY OF DRAFT WORKING GROUP
(WG) REPORT ON SHAPE ASSESSMENT OF OPTION III. TEXT TAKES
ACCOUNT OF MISSION VIEWS AND DELETIONS WHICH WE PROPOSED TO WG
STAFF MEMBER DURING INFORMAL REVIEW OF EARLIER DRAFT. WE ALSO
UNDERSTAND THAT CERTAIN OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE SEEN TEXT AND
PRESUMABLY CONCUR IN MUCH OF ITS CONTENTS. PARA 7, IN FACT,
IS NEW ADDITION WE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY SEEN. WE WOULD APPRECIATE
GUIDANCE ON PROPOSED DRAFT FOR OCTOBER 16 WG MEETING, SINCE THIS
MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO ENDING CURRENT DISCUSSION THIS GENERAL
SUBJECT IN WG FORUM.

COMMENT: WE HAVE ALSO RECEIVED ADVANCE COPY OF DRAFT WG REPORTS
ON SHAPE ASSESSMENT OF BELGIAN, UK, AND U.S. JULY 27 PAPERS
WHICH WE ARE POUCHING TO STATE/RPM AND DOD/ISA. WE WILL RESERVE
ON THESE PAPERS AT OCTOBER 16 MEETING, REQUESTING GUIDANCE
THEREAFTER ON FINAL TEXT AND HANDLING OF PAPERS.

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END COMMENT.

2. TEXT OF DRAFT WORKING GROUP REPORT RE OPTION III
FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

ADVANCE COPY

DRAFT WORKING GROUP REPORT

SHAPE ASSESSMENT OF THE THIRD REDUCTION CONCEPT (OPTION III)(1)

1. THE WORKING GROUP HAVE EXAMINED THE SHAPE ASSESSMENT (1) OF THE THIRD REDUCTION CONCEPT (2), COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE MIXED PACKAGE REDUCTION CONCEPT, WHICH INVOLVES A 20 PERCENT REDUCTION IN THOSE FORCES WHICH EACH SIDE MAY PERCEIVE AS THREATENING (OFFENSIVE FORCES). IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE THIRD REDUCTION CONCEPT IS NOT AN ACTIVE REDUCTION PROPOSAL; RATHER IT IS A HYPOTHETICAL REDUCTION OPTION, AN ILLUSTRATION OF A POSSIBLE MIXED PACKAGE ELEMENT IN MBFR. THE WORKING GROUP NOTE THAT THIS REDUCTION CONCEPT INVOLVES MUCH BROADER ISSUES WITH SERIOUS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS BEYOND THE SCOPE AND COMPETENCE OF THW WORKING GROUP TO ADDRESS. THESE INCLUDE, INTER ALIA, JUDGMENTS ON THE EFFECT OF THE OPTION ON NATO'S DETERRENCE; THE COURSE OF FUTURE DECISIONS ON THE LANCE ACQUISITION PROGRAMME; THE ADVISABILITY OF ACTIVELY NEGOTIATING SOME SUCH OPTION AND THE PROBLEM OF THE SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS OF THE MEDIUM AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE CAPABILITY WHICH ARE NORMALLY STATIONED WITHIN SOVIET TERRITORY. WITHIN THE SPECIFIC CONTENTS OF OPTION III, HOWEVER, THE WORKING GROUP HAVE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE SHAPE ASSESSMENT.

2. THE SHAPE ASSESSMENT IS WELCOMED AS A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATO EXAMINATION OF THIS SENSITIVE MATTER. SINCERE APPRECIATION IS EXTENDED FOR THIS LUCID ASSESSMENT, FRAMED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PERMIT ITS REVIEW HERE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS WITHOUT THE NECESSITY FOR DELVING INTO THE MORE DETAILED AND RESTRICTED UNDERLYING INFORMATION.

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(1) SHAPE 1000.1/20-5-4/73(CTS), 25 AUG 73

(2) US PAPER OF 30 APRIL, 1973 "THE US APPROACH TO MBFR"

3. THE SHAPE ASSESSMENT IN SEVERAL PLACES (PARAGRAPHS 3, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, AND 30) EMPHASIS THE IMPLICATIONS OF OPTION III IN GENERATING DE FACTO CEILINGS ON VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF NATO FORCES. THE WORKING GROUP VIEW THESE AS VALID CONCERNS. IT IS RECOGNISED THAT OPTION III IS AIMED AT THE REDUCTION OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY, NOT SPECIFICALLY AT REDUCTIONS OR LIMITATIONS ON SOVIET TACTICAL NUCLEAR SYSTEMS. NONETHELESS, THE WORKING GROUP VIEW WITH CONCERN THE IMPLICATIONS OF OPTION III FOR PRODUCING POSSIBLE ONE-SIDED DE FACTO CEILINGS ON NATO'S TACTICAL NUCLEAR SYSTEMS. DE FACTO CEILINGS ARE NOT UNIQUE TO

NUCLEAR ELEMENTS, OF COURSE, BUT ARE INHERENT IN ALL TYPES OF FORCE REDUCTIONS. THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT DE FACTO CEILINGS ON THE US ELEMENTS CONCERNED IN OPTION III MIGHT EXTEND TO ENCOMPASS EQUIVALENT ELEMENTS OF OTHER NATO ALLIES IN THE NGA. SINCE THE SCUD AND FROG TACTICAL NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS ARE ORGANIC ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET TANK ARMY TO BE WITHDRAWN, A LOGICAL BASIS MAY EXIST FOR A DE FACTO CEILING ON SOVIET TACTICAL NUCLEAR SYSTEMS IN THE NGA, AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO THESE SPECIFIC NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS. A FURTHER MATTER CONCERNS THE POSSIBLE PRESENCE OF SOVIET NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN THE NGA. THE LACK OF DEFINITIVE INTELLIGENCE ON THEIR PRESENCE IN THE NGA WOULD BE A COMPLICATING FACTOR. SINCE THE SOVIETS EASILY COULD HAVE SUCH FORWARD STOCKS, AND SINCE THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE PRESENCE OF FORWARD STOCKPILES IN THE NGA, THAT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SCUD AND FROG WITHDRAWALS MIGHT PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR A DE FACTO LIMITATION ON WP NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN THE NGA. THE MATTER OF A POSSIBLE ONE-SIDED DE FACTO LIMITATION FOR NATO DUAL CAPABLE AIRCRAFT IS MORE DIFFICULT TO OVERCOME BECAUSE ON THE ONE HAND THE IMPACT OF THE CONVENTIONAL ASPECTS OF THOSE AIRCRAFT AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSSIBLE EXTENSION TO NON-US NATO FORCES OF A DE FACTO CEILING UPON THEIR AIRCRAFT. THE WG BELIEVE THAT CAREFUL CONSIDERATION WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN TO THE IMPLICATIONS ON NATO'S FORCE IMPROVEMENT PLANS AND DEFENCE POSTURE OF THESE IMPLIED DE FACTO CEILING LIMITATIONS.

4. QUITE APART FROM THE NUCLEAR ASPECTS, THIS OPTION INTRODUCES THE POSSIBILITY OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT REDUCTIONS IN MBFR. THE
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WORKING GROUP NOTE THAT THEIR ON-GOING STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF REDUCTIONS OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT ON THE CONVENTIONAL BATTLE WILL BE RELEVANT TO THIS ISSUE, AND THAT THEY WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO COMMENT ON THIS ASPECT WHEN THE STUDY IS COMPLETED.

5. THE WORKING GROUP SUPPORT THE SHAPE VIEWS (PARAGRAPHS 29-33) CONCERNING VERIFICATION AND CONSTRAINTS. CONCERNING THE UNACCEPTABILITY TO THE WEST OF INTENSIVE INSPECTION, THE WORKING GROUP NOTE THE RATHER FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN THIS APPROACH AS COMPARED WITH THE USUAL APPROACH TO VERIFICATION.

6. THE WORKING GROUP CONSIDERED THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE PRECISELY DEFINING THE IMPACT OF THE REDUCTION OF 54 US F-4 AIRCRAFT AND 36 PERSHING LAUNCHERS ON CURRENT PLANS AND REQUIREMENTS TO INCLUDE THE CONVENTIONAL AIRCRAFT REQUIREMENTS OF THESE DUAL-CAPABLE AIRCRAFT REDUCTIONS. THE WG BELIEVE THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE WITH GREATER PRECISION WHEN THE ACTUAL UNITS INVOLVED WERE TO BE IDENTIFIED.

7. IN THEIR REVIEW OF THIS SHAPE ASSESSMENT THE WORKING GROUP HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE DPC MINISTERIAL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO04839
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS, 12-31-81
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731064/abqcecpw.tel
Line Count: 161
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: USNATO 4771
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 15 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR WORKING GROUP: DRAFT WG REPORT ON SHAPE ASSESSMENT OF OPTION III
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005